

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 DHA-02

TRSE-00 /077 W

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O R 241825Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7643

INFO USUN MISSION NEW YORK 1595

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 2564

USIA FOR IAA

SECSTATE FOR AF/S

FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

FOLLOWING IS THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN BY  
AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG AT THE CARLTON HOTEL IN JOHANNESBURG,  
RSA ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 23. NOTE: THIS IS NOT TO BE  
RELEASED UNTIL AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND HIS STAFF MEMBERS HAVE  
REVIEWED TEXT.

ANYBODY GOT ANYTHING THEY WANT TO KNOW. (LAUGHTER)

Q. WHAT KINDS OF PRESSURE FOR CHANGE HAS AMERICA EXERTED  
SO FAR, AND HOW DO YOU ENVISAGE THIS PRESSURE BUILDING FURTHER?

A. I DON'T THINK WE'VE EXERTED ANY PRESSURES FOR CHANGE. I DON'T  
THINK IT'S A MATTER OF PRESSURE. I THINK IT'S A MATTER OF THE U.S.  
ESTABLISHING A RELATIONSHIP OR COMMUNICATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA  
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TO HELP THEM UNDERSTAND THE PRESSURES OF HISTORY, THE ECONOMIC  
PRESSURES THAT ARE OCCURRING GENERALLY, NOT THAT WE ARE INSTITUTING  
AS I SAID LAST NIGHT, THE ECONOMIC SHIFT FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO BLACK  
AFRICA, THE ASPIRATIONS AND CONCERNS THAT COME FROM LIBERATION  
MOVEMENTS WHICH THERE HAS BEEN A TENDENCY, I THINK, SOMETIMES TO  
MISINTERPRET. THE STATEMENT THAT VP MONDALE MADE, IN A SENSE  
WAS NO PRESSURE EXCEPT THE PRESSURE OF TRUTH, AND I THINK THAT IS

ESSENTIALLY AT THIS STAGE ALL WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT. I DON'T THINK THERE HAS BEEN A COMPLETE INTRANSIGENCE ON THE PART OF SOUTH AFRICA. MY VIEW OF THE MEETING BETWEEN THE VP AND THE PM IS ONE THAT IS EXTREMELY ENCOURAGED BY THE RESULTS, AND AS LONG AS THINGS ARE MOVING FORWARD I THINK ONE NEED NOT TALK ABOUT PRESSURES AT ALL.

Q. MR. YOUNG YOU HAVE SAID THAT THE RHODESIAN SYSTEM WAS ACTUALLY CRUSHING BLACKS. DO YOU THINK I AM QUOTING YOU CORRECTLY WHEN YOU SAID THAT THE LIFE SPAN FOR BLACKS IN RHODESIA WAS HALF THAT OF WHITES, THAT MALNUTRITION AND INFANT MORTALITY RATE, THREATS OF DISEASE WERE AS A RESULT OF SYSTEMATIC OPPRESSION AND DEATH DEALING OF THE WHITE GOVERNMENT. WOULD YOU EXPLAIN THAT STATEMENT?

A. I THINK THAT IS SELF-EXPLANATORY, AND I THINK THAT NOT ONLY APPLIES TO RHODESIA, I THINK WITH MINOR QUALIFICATIONS IT WOULD APPLY TO SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL.

Q. HOW CAN YOU SAY THAT, MR. YOUNG?

A. I JUST DID...(LAUGHTER)

Q. AMBASSADOR YOUNG, DO YOU INTEND RETURNING TO SOUTH AFRICA?

A. I WOULD LOVE TO RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA. AND WHENEVER THE OCCASION OCCURS THAT I AM INVITED FOR ANY PURPOSE, I WOULD CERTAINLY TRY TO WORK IT INTO MY SCHEDULE TO RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA. I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT FOR U.S. OFFICIALS TO STAY INVOLVED AT EVERY LEVEL WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

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Q. AMBASSADOR YOUNG YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TO SOWETO. AT LEAST, I DON'T THINK YOU HAVE BEEN TO SOWETO. A LOT OF PEOPLE IN SOWETO ARE CONCERNED ABOUT YOUR COMMITMENT AND YOUR PRINCIPLES AND ARE FOLLOWING YOUR ENTIRE PROGRAM RIGHT NOW. WHAT ADVICE WOULD YOU HAVE FOR THE PEOPLE IN SOWETO RIGHT NOW?

A. KEEP FAITH.

1. WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA USE THE KIND OF ECONOMIC WEAPON OF BOYCOTT THAT YOU YOURSELF ADVOCATED DURING THE AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT?

A. I SURE WOULD.

Q. WOULD YOU ADVISE THEM TO DO IT TO THE FULL?

A. NO, I THINK THAT I TALKED WITH SOME SIXTEEN, SEVENTEEN YEAR OLD CHILDREN AND I COULDN'T GIVE THEM ANY ADVICE BECAUSE THEY WERE

THINKING THINGS THROUGH VERY CLEARLY FOR THEMSELVES AND THEY WERE  
VERY COMMITTED TO CONTINUING TO ORGANIZE THE STRUGGLE FOR CHANGE,  
AND TO DO IT IN A VERY NON-VIOLENT, RELIGIOUS CONTEXT. ALL  
I CAN SAY IS, GOD BLESS THEM.

Q. AMBASSADOR YOUNG, IN VIEW OF MR. VORSTER'S STATEMENT THAT HE  
WILL NOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES DISMANTLE APARTHEID, WHAT POSSIBLE  
HOPE CAN THERE BE?

A. YOU OUGHT TO KNOW YOU DON'T HAVE TO BELIEVE POLITICIANS.  
THERE WERE TWO OUT OF THREE STATEMENTS. THERE WAS A STATEMENT  
WHICH WAS VERY ENCOURAGING ON NAMIBIA. THERE WAS A STATEMENT  
ON ZIMBABWE, AND THERE WAS A STONG REFUSAL ON SOUTH AFRICA. IF  
SOME PROGRESS ON THOSE TWO, HE MAY CHANGE HIS MIND. I THINK HE IS  
IN A VERY DIFFICULT SITUATION BECAUSE ONE OF THE THINGS THAT HAS  
CONCERNED ME MOST ON MY VISIT HERE IS THE GENUINE FEAR THAT WHITES  
HAVE, AND EVERYWHERE AND EVERYBODY I TALKED TO IS FRIGHTENED. AND,  
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ITS VERY DIFFICULT FOR PEOPLE TO BE REASONABLE WHEN THEY ARE  
GRIPPED IN THE EMOTIONS OF FEAR. I THINK MAYBE ONE OF THE BEST THINGS  
WE CAN DO IS HOPEFULLY DEMONSTRATE THAT PEACEFUL CHANGE NEED NOT BE  
THE DESTRUCTION OF EVEN THE AFRIKANER WAY OF LIFE, AND THAT AN  
EXPANSION OF THE ECONOMIC ORDER TO INCLUDE BLACKS DOESN'T  
TAKE ANYTHING AWAY FROM THE WHITES.

Q. MR. YOUNG, IF THERE WERE COMPLETELY FREE ELECTIONS IN RHODESIA  
AND ZIMBABWE,.....WOULD THE UNITED STATES DO ANYTHING TO  
ENFORCE THE RESULTS OF THOSE ELECTIONS?

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FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

A. I THINK THAT FREE ELECTIONS IN NAMIBIA, FOR INSTANCE, WOULD BE UNDER U. N. MANDATE, AND FREE ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE WOULD BE UNDER THE MANDATE OF THE BRITISH. WE WOULD CERTAINLY CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THOSE SOCIETIES AND I THINK THAT'S THE BEST WAY TO ENFORCE THE ELECTION MANDATE.

Q. BUT YOU DON'T THINK THE WAR WOULD CARRY ON IRRESPECTIVE OF THE ELECTION.

A. I DON'T THINK SO, I THINK IT WOULD BE VERY HARD FOR THE WAR TO CARRY ON IRRESPECTIVE OF AN INDEPENDENT AND FREE ELECTION UNDER THE KIND OF U.N. SUPERVISION THAT HAS BEEN TALKED ABOUT IN NAMIBIA, AND UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE U.K. IN ZIMBABWE. LET'S FACE IT. THERE'S NOT A GREAT DEAL OF ARMS STRUGGLE GOING ON NOW.  
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Q. BUT THERE ARE VARIOUS, VERY WIDELY DIFFERENT FACTIONS.  
DO YOU THINK THEY WOULD ALL HONESTLY COME TOGETHER?

A. ARE THEY ANY WIDER THAN THE FACTIONS THAT EXIST IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS? THEY ARE CERTAINLY NO WIDER THAN WHEN THE UNITED STATES CAME INTO BEING. ALEXANDER HAMILTON, THOMAS JEFFERSON AND JOHN ADAMS HATED EACH OTHERS GUTS, AND THE REPUBLIC WAS IN GRAVE DANGER FOR ALMOST TWENTY YEARS OF SPLITTING APART BECAUSE OF THE TENSIONS, LEGITIMATE TENSIONS IN POINTS OF VIEW, NATIONAL RIVALRIES WHICH WERE EXPLOITED BY DIFFERING NATIONAL INTERESTS. I THINK THAT BLACKS ARE NOT GOING TO BE ANY MORE ORGANIZED. IN ANGOLA IT IS VERY INTERESTING THAT THE THREE FACTIONS THERE CORRESPONDED TO THE DIVISIONS THAT WERE ESTABLISHED BY MISSIONARIES, AND THE MISSIONARIES COULD NOT GET TOGETHER. I THINK THE CHURCHES HAVE TO BEAR SOME RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE DISUNITY THAT THEY LEFT IN ANGOLA. OUR ROLE, I THINK, IS TO PATIENTLY AND COERCIVELY CREATE A CLIMATE WHERE IT IS POSSIBLE FOR PEOPLE TO WORK TOGETHER AND CERTAINLY NOT CONTINUE AN ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST EACH OTHER, A CIVIL WAR, I THINK WE CAN DO THAT IF

THERE IS AN INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS.

Q. MR. YOUNG, COULD I PUT ONE QUESTION TO YOU? (INAUDIBLE)  
ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA I THINK, IF I READ YOU CORRECTLY  
FURTHER APPEAL CAN STAND (INAUDIBLE) EVERYBODY CAN GET RICHER  
TOGETHER AND THAT THERE WILL NOT BE THE QUESTION OF THE WHITES  
GETTING POORER IN ORDER TO ACCOMMODATE THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE BLACKS.  
WHAT I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU WHAT SPECIFICALLY, AND I  
THINK IT IS AN IMPORTANT ASPECT, AND I THINK WOULD  
BE A REVISION, I SUGGEST THAT A REDISTRIBUTION OF LAND WOULD  
HAVE TO COME ABOUT AND THAT WOULD CLEARLY MAKE SOME WHITE  
FARMERS POORER THAN THEY WERE BEFORE.

A. NOT NECESSARILY. I THINK THAT WHEN THERE WAS A TRANSFER  
AND RE-DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN KENYA, THE KENYAN SETTLERS WHO  
SOLD THEIR LAND WERE NO POORER AND IT WAS HANDLED ESSENTIALLY  
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THROUGH THE BANKING SYSTEM. THE YOUNG MAN THAT I KNEW, A  
YOUNG BLACK MAN WHO BOUGHT A SETTLER'S FARM FINANCED IT THRU THE  
BARCLAYS BANK, ASSUMED THE MORTGAGE AND IS WORKING TO PAY IT OFF.  
NOW I THINK THAT WITHIN THE MARKET SYSTEM WHEN IT'S ENCOURAGED TO  
FUNCTION FAIRLY, WHEN BLACKS DO HAVE ACCESS TO CAPITAL, EVEN THINGS  
LIKE LAND REFORMS CAN OCCUR WITHOUT MASSIVE DISRUPTIONS. NOW  
THAT REQUIRES, I THINK, INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE OVER LONG HAUL,  
AND EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE NOT SPECIFIED IT AS SUCH, I THINK THAT THAT  
IS IMPLICIT IN THE KIND OF COMMITMENT THAT THE U.S. IS MAKING IN  
ITS DEALINGS IN SOUTHER AFRICA.

Q. MR. VORSTER SAID AFTER VIENNA, THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES IN  
THE VIEW POINTS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES WAS THAT  
BLACKS IN AMERICA HAD BEEN STRIPPED OF THEIR IDENTITY AS BLACKS AND  
TOOK THOSE OF THE WHITES, WHEREAS HERE THEY STILL HAVE THEIR  
TRADITIONS AND NATIONHOOD. WHAT IS YOUR VIEW ON THIS?

A. THAT IT'S NOT TRUE. WE STILL HAVE OUR TRADITIONS AS BLACKS AND  
OUR NATIONHOOD IN HARLEM OR IN SOUTH-WEST ATLANTA THAT IS NOT A  
GREAT DEAL DIFFERENT FROM THE NATIONHOOD IN SOWETO, WHICH IS NOT  
VERY MUCH. ESSENTIALLY, THE DIFFERENCES WHICH ARE MAGNIFIED IN MR.  
VORSTER'S INTERPRETATION OF HIS SYSTEM COULD JUST AS EASILY BE MINI-  
MIZED, AND TRIBALISM IN ANY FORM WHETHER IT BE IN NORTHER IRELAND,  
LEBANON OR AFRICA OR THE USA, WORKS AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF  
DEVELOPMENT AND LONG-TERM PEACE AMONGST PEOPLE, AND INSTITUTIONAL-  
IZING IT IN SOME KIND OF SYSTEM I DON'T THINK HELPS VERY MUCH.  
WE'RE TRYING IN THE MIDDLE EAST TO BREAK DOWN BARRIERS AND HAVE GOOD  
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE ISRAELIES AND ARABS, IN SPITE OF A HERITAGE  
OF WAR AND DIFFERENCE. EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD PEOPLE  
ARE TRYING TO MINIMIZE DIFFERENCES AND FIND A COMMON  
GROUND UPON WHICH THEY CAN LIVE TOGETHER. IT'S A MATTER OF ONE'S  
INTENTIONS.

Q. MR. YOUNG WE UNDERSTAND YOU SUPPORT "ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE"  
WOULD YOU SEE ANY MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE VOTE?

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A. I THINK THOSE ARE QUESTIONS TO BE DETERMINED BY THE CITIZENS OF  
SOUTH AFRICA, OF BLACKS AND WHITES TOGETHER, AND I HAVE  
RESISTED AND OUR GOVERNMENT HAS RESISTED TRYING TO GET STANDARDS,  
TRYING TO DETERMINE WHAT SHOULD BE DONE FOR PEOPLE TO LIVE TOGETHER  
IN SOUTH AFRICA. IT'S REALLY NOT OUR BUSINESS.

Q. NOW I'M ASKING YOU PERSONALLY MR. YOUNG. WOULD YOU  
SET ANY MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTE BY ANY MAN?

A. WE HAVE NO MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS IN THE U.S.

Q. WOULD YOU WISH TO SEE THAT APPLIED HERE?

A. I THINK THAT IS THE DECISION OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

END TEXTBOWDLER

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## Message Attributes

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